1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.147-A]
114 derstandable, more valuable, and more usable.

121 An examination of all the available source material indicates very clearly the necessity for immediately establishing a limited study of well-defined groups, uninfluenced by any theoretical preoccupations with questions of sociological unity, anteriority, or origin. The term "Pygmy" leads far too easily to meaningless generalization. It may well prove that even the [101] term "Mbuti," by which is understood the Pygmy population of the Ituri Forest, is too broad. The breakdown in this survey between the different economic groups of Mbuti is only a tentative investigation to discover significant similarities and differences.

114 In view of the existence of Schebesta's (1938,
128 1941, 1948, 1950) major work, "Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri," with its special reference to archers, and my own field work and recent and forthcoming publications on the net hunters, the survey here has been kept to reasonable dimensions and does not pretend to give a complete picture. The accounts of Schebesta and Putnam are presented with as little speculation as possible. It will be readily seen that there is insufficient information, almost throughout, for any effective analysis to be made. But certain problems arise, and in the conclusions some attempt is made to outline these further, particularly the nature of the Pygmy-villager relationship.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.147-C]

particular contact situation is not only the remarkable adaptability of the Mbuti to the changing world around them, but also the superficiality of that adaptability, and their much more profound resistance to any influence that strikes into the heart of their forest world and forest life. This, however, is a matter for another work.

Physical anthropology has been entirely excluded from the survey because of its highly specialized nature. A number of such specialists have worked in the Ituri area, however, notably Gusinde (1942, 1948), Jadin (1936, 1938), and Julien (1934, 1954). Schebesta (1938) has also made a physiometrical study among the Mbuti.

The only changes that have been made in the original survey have been minor literary alterations, the addition of a few footnotes or inserted comments, the addition of one or two post-1956 references, and a revision of the terminology used. For "Efe" and "Sua," for instance, we now use the terms "archer" and "net hunter" respectively, and in place of "Negro" we use "villager," thus stressing throughout the significance of the economic rather than the linguistic or racial differential.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
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GROUP: Whereas I have in the original survey, and elsewhere, used the term "group" as I now use the term "band," particularly when translating from the German (*Lokalgruppe*), I now use the term "band" as above, and use "group" only generally to distinguish, say, archers from net hunters, or Mbuti from villagers.

P 121 128 104 621

THE BANTU PREFIX: This has been dropped throughout whenever I refer to persons or objects. Thus we talk of the Bira, Ndaka, and Mbuti rather than the BaBira, BaNdaka, or BaMbuti. This change is in consonance with the current practice of the International African Institute. However, we retain the "Ki" prefix to indicate language—KiBira, KiNdaka, KiMbuti.

P 2 101 • 104 128 193

Indigenous terms, except for place, proper, or personal names, are italicized.

P 2 128

Illustrations have been added. These do not set out to represent the total material culture of the Mbuti, but were drawn from the collections of the American Museum by Mr. Nicholas Amorosi.

[P. 148-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

SOURCE MATERIAL

[P.149-A]

HISTORICAL SOURCES

114 175 177 ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING THINGS about a survey of ancient and early sources concerning the African Pygmies is the way it shows how, from the time these people first entered the recorded scene, in Egypt of the Sixth Dynasty, our knowledge of them decreased steadily until the late nineteenth century. To the ancient Egyptians the existence of Pygmies was a matter of fact. They are referred to as "Dancers of God" and as dwellers in the "land of trees" (Schebesta, 1933, 17; 1952, 11); they are placed on the southern borders of Sudan. A tomb of the Sixth [101] Dynasty at Beni Hassan bears a painting of representatives of conquered nations, among which is a perfectly recognizable likeness of a Pygmy, designated Aka—a name by which the northernmost Pygmies are still known today. Yet, until the turn of the present century, the modern Western world believed the Pygmy to be a myth. From Beni Hassan the scene shifts to the Pompeian parietal paintings which depict typical Pygmy scenes, with a forest camp of beehive-shaped huts, and also a scene showing Pygmies along the Nile.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 150-A]

apes swinging about in the treetops and describing them as Pygmies.

The material provided by these nineteenth-century explorers is valuable, however, for an understanding of contemporary writings. Some of them, such as Speke (1864) and Stanley (1879, 1890), made little more than passing reference to the "dwarfs," as they were usually called. Schweinfurth (1874) is generally acknowledged as being the first to establish beyond a doubt that there was indeed a race of such people in central Africa and to give us some real information about them, particularly concerning the association of the Aka (northernmost) Pygmies, as mercenary soldiers, with the Mangbetu tribe. He was also among the first to throw in some of the many "red herrings" that have distracted even the most recent anthropologists from a strictly scientific study of the people, leading them into the speculative realms of origin, connection between Pygmies and the Bushmen of South Africa, and degree of originality of Pygmy culture.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

Others, such as Casati (1891), Le Roy (1897), Burrows (1898), Johnston (1884, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1908), David (1904a, 1904b), Hutereau (1924), Powell-Cotton (1907), and Czekanowski (1922), to mention only a very few, give further details that are of interest but cover such a wide area as to make it impossible to gather any but the most superficial notion of a generalized "African Pygmy." When these sources provide us with factual observations, the facts are often not untainted with imagination. When they go beyond facts, additional "red herrings" are cast up, such as the silent trade between Pygmies and villagers, the lawlessness of Pygmy society, the Pygmies' complete lack of religion, and their ferocity and cannibalism. To add fuel to the fire, equally imaginative interpretations show them as having reciprocal and open trade relationships with the villagers, as living an ordered life according to their "natural instincts" for law and order, as following a monotheistic mystical religion, and as living a gentle and peaceful existence. According to this material, the "Pygmies" do have their own language and they do not, their way of life is totally different from that of their villager neighbors and it is a direct copy of villager life, they live in the heart of the forest and they live on the edge of the villages. These are just some of the contradictions that make it

[P. 150-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[p.150-C]

impossible to form any single coherent picture. 114 101 181 175

When Schmidt wrote "Die Stellung der Pygmäen-völker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschen" in 1910, all these contradictions were his source material. Pygmies existed, but they still had tails and were flying about from treetop to treetop, or else they were crawling on their bellies like snakes to enter their diminutive houses. Quatrefages (1887) and Le Roy (1897) had, at the end of the nineteenth century, attempted to draw together what was known about Pygmies all over the world, but Schmidt's study is the first work of real importance. He confines himself mostly to the African Pygmies and Bushmen and pursues two lines of thought: first, the relationship of both to Asiatic Pygmies; and second, the place of the Pygmy, both racially and anthropologically, in the evolution of the human race. Was the Pygmy the original inhabitant of the equatorial forests of Africa, or was he a degeneration of present Bantu stock—a throwback? These "red herrings" are still being diligently pursued, while the Pygmies and their social structure have gone unstudied by any anthropologist except with reference to these problems.

: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

with reference to these problems. The one contemporary work of any real note, "Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri," is the result of research undertaken by Schebesta (1938, 1941, 1948, 1950), who was undoubtedly strongly influenced by the Schmidt school of thought, and was preoccupied with the problems of the origin and cultural unity of the Pygmies and of their racial and anthropological separateness from the villagers. 114 101

The problem of the relationship between the African and the Asian Pygmies, opened by Quatrefages in 1887, was followed up by Le Roy (1897), Schmidt (1910), Eickstedt (1934), Nippold (1936, 1937), Gusinde (1942), and Schebesta (1938, 1952). The problem itself does not concern us here, except in so far as preoccupation with it in these sources affects our evaluation of them and explains their tendency to generalize in terms of "Pygmy" or "Bambuti" culture and society.

We must ask ourselves what use can be made of all this material in a serious study of the African Pygmies, particularly as there is such a dearth of reliable contemporary material. At first sight we seem to be in possession of an abundant supply of raw material, even if we limit ourselves to the Pygmies of central 114

[P. 150 - D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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[101] If we were not dogged by this notion of the "Pygmies" as one people, supported by their undoubted racial homogeneity and territorial contiguity, we would certainly think we were dealing with a number of totally different social systems, if not different peoples.

The more unreliable and imaginative sources have already been rejected, and we must accept the remaining information as given, however much it contradicts itself. The only alternative is to reject this material *in toto*, and there is certainly no justification for so doing other than the convenience of avoiding the contradictions. It seems preferable to accept the contradictions without trying to unify the facts. That is to say, a thorough summary of these early sources indicates that we are by no means dealing with a single people, even within as limited an area as the Ituri Forest or, indeed, one section of it. This consideration has affected the format of the present work and its limitation to a specific section of the African Pygmies. Reference to facts to be found in the early sources are made only when it is certain that they apply to the particular Pygmies under discussion. This method seems to be the only valid way of utilizing the material. It reduces the bulk of ethnographic evidence considerably, as it is seldom made clear exactly which group of Pygmies is

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[P 151 - B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[p. 151-c]

under discussion, and the material nowhere deals with any one specific group fully. [114 01 28]

Having spent some time examining a large body of literature, one is naturally loath to make so little use of it, but this demonstration of the need for detached localized studies rather than generalized studies concerned with or dominated by the notion of racial and cultural unity is in itself no small contribution. The extent to which one must localize sociological studies among the Ituri is as yet unknown, but some indication will appear in the following work.

It might be added that Schebesta, who made an exhaustive study of these same sources, also found himself unable to make a great deal of use of them. He (1948, 295) criticizes Hutereau, whom he regards as being one of the most important sources, for generalizing from one group to another (though Hutereau was mainly concerned with the Aka). He regards the others as even less reliable, and most of his references to them are accompanied by cautions as to their trustworthiness.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

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Having decided, for the purpose of the present survey, to reject the historical sources for the most part, we must determine the extent to which the survey will be limited and then give a brief account and evaluation of the contemporary sources from which it will be drawn.

It must be emphasized that we are not attempting to summarize all available material on the "Pygmies" in general. Ethnography itself can have meaning only when we know to what people our facts belong and when the facts are sufficiently comprehensive to appear in a system of relationships. We see above, in the review of historical sources, that facts that would otherwise be of considerable value are useless to us because with few exceptions we cannot relate them to any one specific group of people. Further, the facts are so few and so isolated that we have no way of relating them to one another in any kind of system. When we come to contemporary sources we are not much better off. We must first decide not to include Pygmoids, such as the Twa and Tswa, because of the very obvious sociological differences and the feeling that we should make the present survey as detailed and as apposite as possible. Once we have limited ourselves to true Pygmies, we find we

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[P. 151-D] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 152-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

have a concentrated body of Mbuti Pygmies in the Ituri Forest and some apparently scattered Pygmy groups farther west and through the forests of equatorial Africa (Figs. 1–2). Of the latter, unfortunately, too little is known for inclusion here.

For the Ituri Mbuti one of our main sources is the four-volume work by Schebesta (1938,

[P. 152-B]

[P. 153-A]

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FO4 Pygmies FO4
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E-4.8 (1951-1955) 1965

: Turnbull

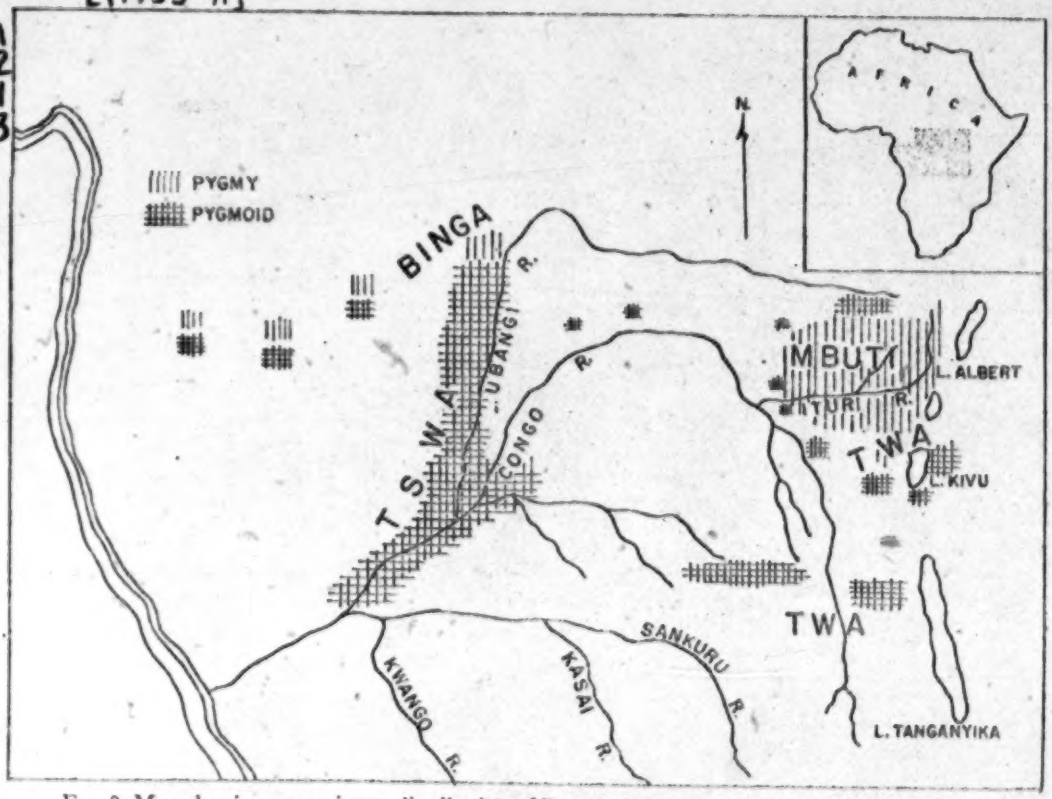

FIG. 2. Map showing approximate distribution of Pygmy and Pygmoid groups in central Africa.

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1941, 1948, 1950). Schebesta divides the Mbuti (whom he calls "Bambuti") into three major groups: Aka in the north, Sua in the south, and Efe in the east (Fig. 3). His first trip to the Ituri was spent in an over-all coverage of the forest, during which he culled facts from all these groups but necessarily at a superficial level. Realizing this and desiring to make a more profound study, he returned and concentrated on the Efe in the triangle bounded by the roads joining Mambasa, Irumu, and Beni (Fig. 3). The bulk of his work concerns these Efe, who hunt primarily with bow and arrows, and as it is the only group of which he has detailed knowledge it is the only group that we present from his work with any degree of fullness. His references to the Kango in the west, the Aka, and the Sua, are too few to form a systematic account of these societies as such, and, as already mentioned, we see little value in isolated, unsystematic ethnographic data.

[P. 153-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

There is, however, another source on the Ituri Pygmies (mostly unpublished) in the form of the field notes of an American anthropologist, Patrick Putnam, who first went to the Ituri in 1928 and was resident there until his death at the end of 1953. His material is concerned with the Sua who, unlike the Efe, are net hunters. With this material are also the notes of his widow, Mrs. Anne Eisner Putnam, who lived in the Ituri for more than eight years, until 1954; and, finally, my own field notes covering my first two visits to the same area (Epulu District) in 1951 and 1954. I combine this material as a single source, indicating its exact origin in the text, partly because, in the main, it covers one definite area, and even one definite hunting band, and partly because both Anne Putnam and myself benefited by the immense knowledge of Patrick Putnam, without necessarily being in complete agreement.

Apart from these two main sources, and a

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[P.154-A]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 Mbuti

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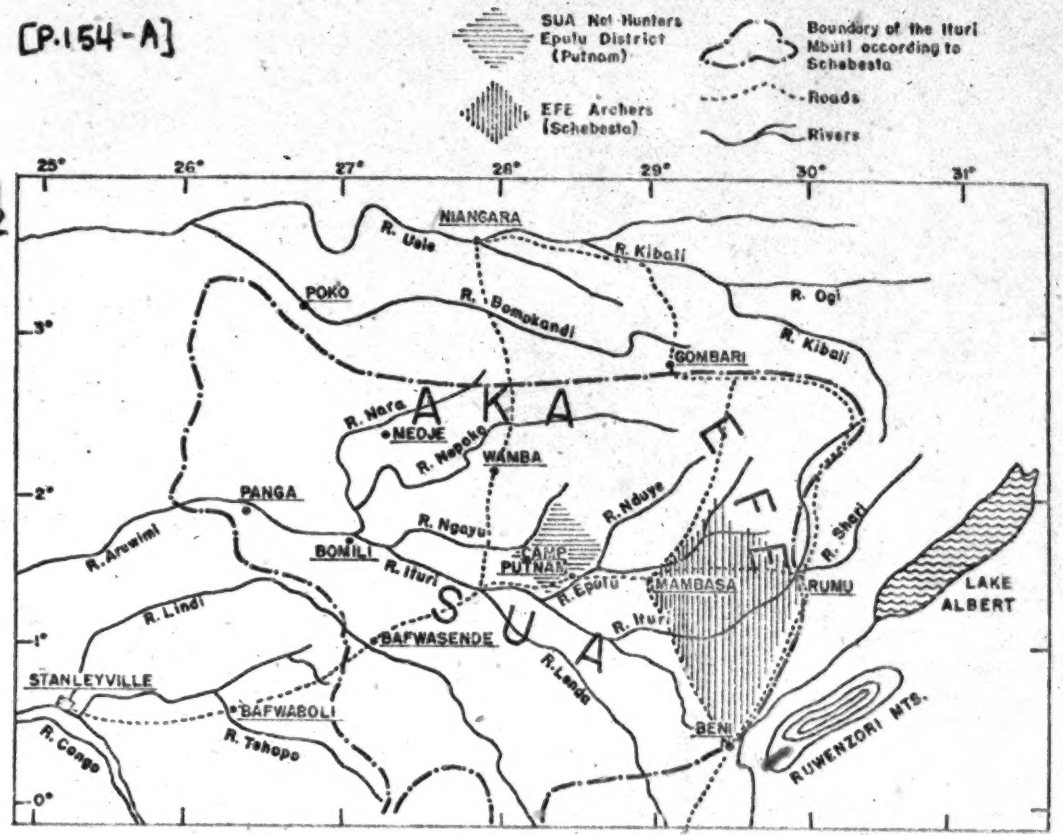

FIG. 3. Map showing distribution of the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest, Oriental Province, the Congo.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

number of articles published in various anthropological journals, there is nothing that we can draw upon for the present work. We have, then, two distinct groups—Schebesta's Efe Mbuti and Putnam's Epulu (Sua) Mbuti, archers and net hunters, respectively.

A word should be said about classification. Schebesta's division of the Ituri Mbuti into Aka, Efe, and Sua is a linguistic classification and, at that, a division not according to Mbuti languages but to the villager linguistic groups—Mangbetu, Lese, and Bira, respectively. It thus corresponds to tribal groupings of villagers and does not seem to be particularly significant for the purposes of sociological analysis. (Schebesta is more concerned with problems of racial and cultural purity, and believes the Efe language to be of Pygmy origin; consequently, he considered the Efe Pygmies to be racially and culturally the purest.

[P. 154-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

turally the purest. This assumption, however, is open to question.) In the seeking of a more significant classification, and with every available source to hand, it has appeared that, as might be expected, there are certain differences in social structure related to differences in economic activity, notably hunting technique. It is fortunate that Schebesta's Efe are trackers and archers, while Putnam's Sua Mbuti are net hunters. Thus we have represented two groups not only linguistically and territorially distinct but also distinguished by hunting technique. The importance of this latter distinction appears in the course of the present study. While it is not claimed that such a classification is comprehensive or final, at least it is factual and more directly related to sociological differences than Schebesta's linguistic division. Consequently, we draw on sources in so far as they are

[P. 154-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

114 1952, 16). This admission, I think, is sufficient to indicate one of Schebesta's weaknesses, his obsession with this notion of cultural unity. To set out to establish a unity of social structure among a virtually unknown people scattered through thousands of square miles of forest is hardly commendable as scientific procedure. It [101] results, as one might expect, in his loose usage throughout his works of the terms "Bambuti" and "Pygmy," thus always implying that there are no significant differences between the Mbuti of one part of the forest and those of another, or between Mbuti who utilize one form of hunt and those who follow another. Further, Schebesta is constantly concerned with differentiating the Pygmies from the villagers. He looks for original traits in Pygmy culture that will evidence their separateness from the villager as well as their unity among themselves. (Any similarities he then ascribes to assimilation.) Nowhere do we find Schebesta interested in a society as such; it must be related to his own problems of cultural unity and distinctness of race. He himself (1947, 181, footnote 1) writes, "The object of my explorations was to

[P.155-B]

[p. 155-C]

stress [pick out?] that which was pygmy."[1] 114

Schebesta's division of the Ituri Pygmies into three linguistic groups is another result of his preoccupation with the problem of the separateness of the Pygmy and villager and the alleged anteriority of the former. He sets out to find an original Pygmy language and claims to have found it among the Efe archers. For this reason he regards them as the "purest" Mbuti. He also, of necessity, believes that their culture is the purest, being least affected by contact with the villagers. Yet from his account it is plain that the Pygmies he describes live in far closer association with neighboring villagers than do other Pygmy groups elsewhere in the Ituri Forest. This whole question of origin and anteriority is so highly speculative, resting, as it must, largely on conjecture, that again we prefer our own more factual basis of classification according to hunting technique, if only as a temporary measure, until we have sufficient information to make a classification according to structural principles. [194]

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1, [See footnote, bottom of p.155-D --Analyst]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

114 128 the *molimo*.[1] I was particularly fortunate in obtaining the material I did, and I include it because it helps to fill out the most detailed body of facts available on any single Pygmy hunting band. The fact that all this material does deal with a single band (or is used only in so far as it does) perhaps excuses the somewhat haphazard way in which it has been amassed. Obviously a single field study by one trained anthropologist would be preferable, but it is not available. Inclusion here of the notes on my 1957–1958 field trip would create an imbalance. As it is, the material is used only in the presentation of facts, and there is no reason to doubt their authenticity. If there is any fault in this joint source on the Epulu Mbuti, it is this possible fault of omission rather than any of commission.

• 101 131 621 The area that this band of Pygmies hunts lies to the north of the Epulu River and west of

[192] [1] Much confusion arises through common and loose usage of the term *lusumba* among all villagers of the area. The *lusumba*, also *esumba*, seems to originate as an Ngwana magical ceremony. This is distinct from both the Bira *molimo* and the *molimo* of the Mbuti, although the terms are often used interchangeably by villagers.

[P. 158 - B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 158-C]

the River Nduye (Fig. 3). The band is a relatively large one and shows some interesting tendencies toward fission. It did not always move as a single hunting unit. Sometimes a part of the band would be several days' journey off in the forest, while the rest remained at the village named Camp Putnam. Mrs. Putnam frequently visited the hunting band at its various camps, when of latter years Patrick Putnam was more or less entirely confined by his illness to the village.

Linguistically the band falls into Schebesta's Sua category, using KiBira for the most part as their camp language. They also use a great many KiLese words, however, and the local Bira affirm that they frequently cannot understand what they call "KiMbuti," though they recognize it to be basically KiBira. Like the Bira villagers, these Pygmies also speak some KiNgwana, the *lingua franca* of the territory.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

With regard to their "purity," it is difficult to say much, particularly as it seems more satisfactory to study them for what they are without reference to their supposed origin. They stand to the villager, however, in the general, apparent client-patron relationship found among most Mbuti throughout the Ituri, though this varies in detail from one area to another. It would seem that they are a great deal less closely attached to their village patrons than the archers described by Schebesta, and spend far less time in the vicinity of the village. At the same time they themselves, and the villagers, report other bands whose association with village settlements is still less regular. The material to hand, however, does reveal some new facts concerning this relationship, and, although interpretation of these facts can be made only with regard to this particular band (the disadvantage of such a small-scale study), at least it is more certain for that specific instance and may indicate similar possibilities elsewhere.

[P. 158-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 159-A]

ORIENTATION

LOCATION

101 114 THE PYGMY POPULATION of the world is divided into two main groups, Asiatic and African, commonly known as Negritos and Negrillos, respectively. These terms originated in what is probably the first serious attempt to study the Pygmies as a whole (Quatrefages, 1887), and the relationship between these two groups has been an issue ever since. It does not concern us here, as our study is confined to the African Pygmies, but reference to this wider issue may be found in Quatrefages (1887), Le Roy (1897), Schmidt (1910), Eickstedt (1934), and Gusinde (1942).

TRIBAL GROUPINGS

121 101 We are concerned essentially with an ethnographic study of known Pygmy groups in Africa, but here again the field is generally considered in terms far too broad to be practical.

101 If the Bushmen, whose relationship to the Pygmies is highly questionable, be left aside, there are three main groups of African Pygmies —the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest, the Tswa of the western Congo and western Africa, and the Twa between Lake Kivu and Lake Tanganyika. Of these, only the first group is truly "Pygmy" according to Schebesta (1952), being under 150 cm. in stature and relatively free from intermixture with neighboring tribes. Schebesta refers to the Twa and Tswa as "Pygmoids." From all the available evidence it seems that the Ituri Mbuti alone preserve any semblance of their original nomadic life as hunters and gatherers, although little is known yet about the Pygmies of equatorial Africa.

[141] [144] [184]

175 131 Our earliest sources (the Sixth-Dynasty tomb at Beni Hassan, the Pompeian parietal paintings, Homer, Aristotle, and even the Mappa Mundi) all agree in placing a Pygmy population near the source of the Nile. Later sources enlarge little on this information, and the first real attempt to delimit the territory was made by Schebesta in 1929–1930.

131 The Ituri Mbuti inhabit the forested basins of the Lindi and Ituri rivers (Schebesta). The Bomokandi River forms the northern frontier. The Mbuti never move beyond the edge of the

[P. 159-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 159-C]

forest to the east. Their southern limit is 131
bounded by a line from the Ruwenzori, through Beni to Bafwasende. The western boundary runs north from Bafwasende to Panga and to the confluence of the Bomokandi and Uele. (See Fig. 3.) Apart from the Lindi and Ituri rivers, Schebesta says that Pygmies also inhabit the areas near the Epulu, Ngayu, Nepoko, and Poko rivers. Putnam makes no attempt to delimit Mbuti territory, but his notes show that he traveled throughout the area described by Schebesta, with the possible exception of the extreme south, and found Mbuti everywhere, away from the major rivers as well as along their banks.

Schebesta makes the threefold division al- 197
ready mentioned, of Twa, Tswa, and Mbuti, 101.
and further subdivides the Ituri Mbuti into [619]
three major groups: the Aka to the north; Sua to the south; and Efe to the east (Fig. 3). These are linguistic groups, speaking dialects of Mangbetu, Bira, and Lese, respectively.

betu, Bira, and Lese, respectively. Schebesta believes the Efe dialect to be the remnant of the original Pygmy language, and for this reason he considers the Efe archers to be culturally the purest of the three Mbuti groups. Costermans (1937) disagrees as to both the originality of the Efe language and the purity of Schebesta's particular Efe Mbuti. He asserts that among the Watsa-Gombari Efe, who according to Schebesta were not "true Pygmies," he found hundreds living in exactly the same manner as Schebesta's "true Pygmies." 197 101 114

Jadin (1936) considers that of Schebesta's three groups the Efe and the Sua have remained most faithful to their old way of life and finds that, on grounds of blood groups, the purest Pygmies are those who live farthest from their village neighbors, from whom they are clearly distinguishable by their biochemical index. 101 144 184

The Aka live mostly to the north of the Nepoko River, along the length of the Ituri as far east as Gombari. Thence southward, to the east of the Nduye, the Efe archers are found. The Sua roam from the Nepoko to the south side of the Ituri River, from Bomili in the west, almost to Mambasa in the east. Detailed information on the Aka is not available, though they seem to make more use of the spear than the other groups. 101 131 619

[P 159-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.160-A]

the other groups. Our main source on the Efe is Schebesta, whose major field work was carried out in the triangle bounded by the roads joining Irumu, Mambasa, and Beni. Source material on the Sua is almost entirely confined to a band in the area to the west of the Nduye and north of the Epulu, near the village of Camp Putnam (Fig. 3).

Thus the two groups available for study represent not only two of Schebesta's two linguistic groups but also the two major hunting techniques used by the Ituri Mbuti. The Efe are archers, while the Sua are primarily net hunters. It is probable that certain structural differences between the two groups can be accounted for by this difference in economic activity; all such differences are also related to the different degrees of symbiosis between the Pygmies and their village neighbors. What is said of these two groups should be taken to apply within these limited areas only, though it may be found that many of the facts have wider extension.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

101 The term "Bambuti" was first applied by Schebesta (1933) to the Sua net hunters only, but after his second visit to the Ituri he widened his usage to include all the Ituri Pygmies (Schebesta, 1937). This is the sense in which it seems to be used by the Pygmies themselves and in which we use the term in this [197] study. The threefold linguistic subdivision of the Mbuti is the only attempt that has yet been made to divide the Mbuti into separate groups, but it is not yet certain how far this division has any anthropological validity. It is [619] impossible to speak of Mbuti tribes or sub- [614] tribes, and, although a number of clan names are known, no material available enables us to trace any semblance of a clan system. The only 621 certain units are the nuclear family and the 602 economic association of a number of such [594] families that form a hunting band. Schebesta (1948, 288 ff.) makes this point, using the terms *"Familie"* and *"Sippe."* He distinguishes *"Sippe"* from *"Grossfamilie,"* the former being primarily an economic association of incidentally related families and the second laying the emphasis on common descent. The coalescence [614] of several *"Grossfamilie"* into a clan is a concept of little significance to the Pygmy, and the clan, Schebesta writes, is in any case widely dispersed.

621 The size of these hunting bands varies,
162 [P.160-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

ORIENTATION

There is little call for comment on this section. Despite their linguistic differences, it seems that the Ituri Mbuti form a broad cultural unit physically differentiated from other Pygmy or Pygmoid groups, notably the Twa of the Kivu area and the Tswa farther west. However, before any conclusion can be reached, we need more detailed studies, of the Pygmies of equatorial and western Africa in particular. 101

The hunting band appears to be the largest political unit, except in opposition to the villagers when, it seems, Pygmy bands may unite regardless of clan or lineage considerations. There is no evidence that, during the period when the Pygmies were used as mercenaries, they ever fought with one another at the behest of the villagers. 621 628 648

Despite Schebesta's assertion that *efe* is, in fact, the remnant of the original Mbuti language, linguists disagree on this point. Van Bulck (G. van Bulck, 1948, 1953; V. van Bulck, 1948, 1952) questions it. Professors Tucker and Meeussen (in conversation) indicate that the possibility of determining its correctness with any degree of certainty is remote. This attitude 197 114

[P.242-D]

551 Thus in the Epulu region most Mbuti have both Ngwana and Bira names, not necessarily with
[613] the same meaning. The occasional use of a
[602] grandfather's name is another indication of the lack of importance attached to lineal ties in this group, and an indication of the size of the largest group to which they conceive of them-
[614] selves as belonging. Clan names (ancestor names) exist, but these seem to have little
[103] social significance. Place names are used fre-
[101] quently to differentiate one hunting band from another.

621 563 It is virtually impossible to distinguish any of the alien families that have attached themselves to a net-hunting band, so completely are
[832] they assimilated. Perhaps the easiest indication would be open flirtation between members of the opposite sex within a hunting band. And
621 finally (see below, p. 257, for a fuller treat-
575 ment), there is the *elima*, the women's religious
562 association which unites the women of the band
182 in opposition to the men (regardless of lineage), and at the same time acknowledges the common values of both, so unites them as a single group in relation to the forest. It also unifies the total
[186] band in relationship to the worlds of spirits, animals, villagers, and presumably of other semi-human beings such as Europeans. It never unifies the band in opposition to other hunting bands or lineages.

[P 246-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

114 Putnam material is drawn not from a single coherent account, but from a number of isolated manuscript notes and from the written observations of Anne Putnam, put together by myself in the light of my own partial knowledge at the time of writing, of the particular Pygmies of whom the Putnams write.

128 The survey must be taken as a survey of source material and not as an ethnographic description of two types of Mbuti society. Though I have tried to draw from the material as much description as possible, obvious gaps are revealed, particularly in our knowledge of the social structure of the Mbuti. We have virtually no information, for instance, on the kinship, legal, or political systems of either group. Undoubtedly, the social structure is simple, but it is all the more regrettable that we do not have any detailed description of it. Our ethnographic description, in so far as it is such, gives an account of various institutions but with no hint as to their interrelationship. The account itself is never sufficiently detailed to permit speculation with any accuracy. In one sense it is virgin ground for the field worker, but not completely so. The survey reveals that
128 the Mbuti should be studied with regard to
• 101 their economic classification as archers and net
[P.273-8]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.273-C]

hunters rather than as Efe, Aka, or Sua—the linguistic division made by Schebesta which does not correspond to any sociological division. It may well emerge that there is a better classification, according to structural principles rather than purely economic differences, but at the moment this cannot be seen.

The survey also reveals a strange contrast between an apparently simple social structure and primitive material culture and a highly developed artistic sense. It seems worth while for the future field worker to pay particular attention to myth and mime, noting all the surrounding circumstances and not only the subject of representation. Similarly music is of obvious social importance and should be fully treated, with special attention to the social context. We might in this way gain some insight into the Mbuti system of values, which not only would be of significance itself but would immeasurably help our understanding of the relationship between the Mbuti and the villagers.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

no villager boys present. But even more obvious, and ever manifesting itself, is the difference between the two people in their attitude to the forest. In the legends as told by the Mbuti we see something of the Mbuti attitude to the forest as the provider of all that is good and bad, as the source of the essentially good life of the Mbuti people. The forest is a place to be trusted (witness the *molimo* invocation to the God of the Forest) and loved. The villagers, on the other hand, fear the forest and people it with malevolent spirits. In their fear of the forest, there is necessarily an element of fear of the Mbuti, whom they recognize as its original inhabitants, as forest people. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Possoz (1954, 257) claims that the term "*Batwa*," derived from "*Batoa*," was originally applied by the Bantu-speaking tribes to the Pygmies, denoting that the latter were of older stock, closer to the ancestors and so worthy of veneration. The more recent term "*Batswa*," however, means "those in the course of disappearing." It would be difficult to prove or disprove such etymological deductions, but there is other evidence that the villager inhabitants of the Ituri Forest do not entirely lack respect for the Mbuti. There

[p. 274-D]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

It would seem advisable to begin by working in the communities already covered in the survey, checking and verifying the known information and filling in the numerous gaps. It should be possible by an eastward extension of the study of the Epulu net hunters to reach the point where they come in contact with a westward extension of the archers in the southeast of the area. The Pygmies ("Aka") in the north, of whom little is known at present, should certainly be included in the study, in so far as they can be fruitfully compared with the net hunters and archers. We should then at least know whether or not we are justified in using the term "Mbuti" to include all the Ituri Pygmies as a single cultural entity. It may prove that we are no more justified in studying them together on account of their outward physical similarity than we would be in regarding the Dinka and the Nuer as a single people simply because they both have long legs.

It seems unnecessary even to consider the question of origin or of "purity." We are interested in the situation as it is. We can consider the past only in so far as we know it with certainty (which is not very far), or in so far as it plays a part in the beliefs, attitudes, or values of the people we are studying, in which case it is

[P 275-D]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

12 [101] study as a comparative base from which the study of the Mbuti as a whole may be more speedily and accurately advanced. It is also believed that although the bulk of the study involves a single hunting band, much of the basic structure uncovered applies to other Mbuti bands. The major limitation, however, is that we are here concerned primarily with one band rather than with the Mbuti as a whole, yet this was an inevitable necessity.

Other limitations arise from the lack of monographs on comparable groups of forest nomads, from my consequent reluctance to generalize too far from so narrow a base, and from the difficulty of presenting the principles of organization of a society that does not possess the formal institutions found in larger and more sedentary societies. Nonetheless, such principles plainly must exist, and while our general objective is to outline the form and structure of the Mbuti hunters and gatherers of the Ituri Forest in the northeast Congo (Leopoldville), we also have the more particular objective of searching for the elusive principles that integrate each apparently autonomous Mbuti band, giving it an identity of its own by which it recognizes itself and its integral but diffuse relationship with other bands. For it is in light of these principles that we must try to understand the effective but problematical relationship that pertains between any Mbuti band and the village cultivators who are its neighbors.

12 114 Another limitation derives from the lack of reference material on the Mbuti, which necessitated the gathering of ethnographic minutiae in the field and their presentation here, adding considerably to the bulk despite vigorous sifting. However, without a firm ethnographic base no analysis would be possible, so the provision of such a base is considered a prime prerequisite.

I have elsewhere (Turnbull, 1956) given reasons for rejecting existing sources for both purposes of general comparison and particular analysis, though this is not to deny their possible value in other fields. My own subsequent account of the Mbuti (Turnbull, 1961) was in no way intended as an academic study, nor is it suited for use as such, though it served a useful purpose in helping the field worker detach himself from the subject of his study, enabling him to examine it more critically.

[197] In my examination of other sources (1956) it was suggested that subsequent field work might discover a more meaningful division of the Ituri Mbuti than the linguistic division made by Schebesta, as

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

In paying special attention to this relationship it was felt that the otherwise intangible value-system of the Mbuti would be more clearly revealed, leading to an understanding of the ritual relationship that appeared to exist between the Mbuti and the forest, as implied in the accounts of other observers and in my own prior experience, but nowhere made explicit.

EXECUTION

Field work was undertaken between the summer of 1957 and the late winter of 1958, entering the then Belgian Congo by driving through from the West Coast, collecting as many local accounts of pygmy or pygmoid hunters and gatherers along the way as possible, for future reference. Such accounts were gathered in Dahomey, Nigeria (particularly towards the east), the Cameroons, Gabon, and throughout the Congo, but few hunting bands were encountered until well towards the Ubangi River (see Map 1). It was decided not to spend time trying to make contact, except on the far side of the Ubangi, where contact was relatively easy, and where there were also some Binga pygmies from the west bank of the river.

From the Ubangi over to the Ituri it was quite obvious that, as elsewhere, true hunting bands only existed where there was substantial primary forest, and that elsewhere not only was the hunting and gathering economy defunct, but there had been so much intermarriage that one could not truly speak of a pygmy physical type any more than one could speak of a pygmy culture.

Leaving aside the forested area south of the Congo River, which I did not cover but for which pygmoid groups are reported, I found relatively isolated bands of pygmy and pygmoid hunters and gatherers to exist in the forests of the Gabon and the Cameroons, and in the Congo Republic (Brazzaville) as well as in the forested regions around the Ubangi River. But by far the heaviest concentration is in the Ituri Forest, where all the pygmies recognize their unity in the name Mbuti, and where both the physical and the cultural integrity of the hunters and gatherers seems to have been best preserved.

There was no question that this was the right area for the major bulk of the field work, but there was some question as to which band to select for the intensive study. I eventually decided on the Epulu

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

net-hunters for a variety of reasons, their central location (see Map 2) being only one.

There were several more immediate reasons, which I give now, as the choice may be a point of some criticism:

1) I had already been among this band on two prior occasions, and had established with them a most friendly relationship that I knew would guarantee me immediate access to their forest hunting camps. Although I was known among other bands, there did not exist the same degree of intimacy and trust, and the Mbuti are by nature reserved and suspicious when faced with the prospect of having a stranger in their forest camps.

2) I was also well known to the Epulu villagers, and could anticipate the need for understanding and tolerance from this direction.

3) Father Schebesta (1957) had previously attacked my discussion of the significance of the music and ceremonial (Turnbull, 1955, 1957[1]) by saying that this same band was particularly acculturated and therefore not representative.[1] As the whole point of my argument was the superficiality of the acculturation, and granting that this band had all the appearances of gross acculturation, this seemed like an excellent opportunity for testing a hypothesis that I felt to be valid, and that I also suspected to have far deeper significance in the total Mbuti social structure than I at present recognized.

4) In selecting a net-hunting band I would at least be adding to Schebesta's general ethnographic description, which was mostly concerned with the archers, rather than be duplicating it.

5) Because of its central location I would be able to move relatively rapidly to other areas in the forest if the occasion demanded, and when in other areas I would still be able to stay within a few days' reach of the Epulu band, in case I needed to return. Also because of its central location, there seemed to be some possibility of establishing contact not only with other net-hunting bands, but also possibly with archer bands, in the normal course of the year's migrations.

6) The continued existence of Camp Putnam, on the Epulu River, offered me a base where I could keep essential supplies in safety, and where I would not alienate myself from the villagers with whom I would eventually have to work by having to stay at a government rest-house or with other Europeans.

[1] For a further clarification of Schebesta's attitude, see my article on the *nkumbi* initiation (Turnbull, 1957), his rejoinder and subsequent recantation (Schebesta, 1958, 1963).

[P. 16]

CHAPTER 2

Orientation

THE PEOPLE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

101 144 The Mbuti pygmies form the largest single group of pygmy hunters and gatherers in Africa, and are probably also the purest in both the biological and cultural senses. Throughout the equatorial rain forest other similar groups exist, but while some of them (notably in the Gabon and in the Ubangi area) appear to be comparable with the Mbuti, the majority, like the Twa and the Tswa of the Kivu and central Congo districts (see Map 3) have at one time or another intermarried with Negro tribes of cultivators, losing many of the true pygmy physical characteristics and at the same time losing a great deal of their original hunting and gathering culture.

181 Far more important, from the structural point of view, is the altered relationship between all these pygmoids and the world they live in, for as we shall see, the structure of Mbuti society pivots around a powerful forest-oriented system of values. This value system to a large extent overrides economic considerations in determining the relationship between the Mbuti and their village neighbors, whereas among the pygmoids the economic factor appears to be dominant, and the consequent dependency of the pygmoids upon the villagers in other respects is also greater.

179 178 This is in no way to say that the structure to be found among the Mbuti is representative of an original pygmy hunting and gathering structure; in fact probably far from it, for the repercussions of the invasion of the forest by the village cultivators have been enormous. But the response of the Mbuti, for whatever reason, has been different from that of the Twa and the Tswa and it is of much greater structural interest and significance, incidentally throwing light on the whole process of acculturation. At the same time, however, the peculiar structural development of the Mbuti does enable us to observe a

[1] [see page 318 -- Analyst]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

tion between villages is due only in part to rivalry for territory. It is also due to suspicion of witchcraft and sorcery, a suspicion that seems to increase as the distance of separation decreases. This, of course, can also be interpreted as an expression of territorial friction, but it is conceived in personal rather than territorial terms, and is accompanied by a general dislike and mistrust of strangers.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that whereas the Mbuti, even with their nomadism, in which hunting camps are shifted every month, have a strong sense of basic territorial permanence, the villagers have none, and this gives rise to further instability. To mention only one example, it is believed among the Bira that the dead should be buried according to a prescribed ritual, and that the grave should be cared for in a prescribed manner. The burial is always carried out but it is a constant source of conflict having to care for a grave that may be some miles away. Every time a village moves the villagers have to face the fact that they are abandoning their dead, to some extent, and they are unpleasantly reminded of the uncertainty of their own future. We do not know what the original burial practice was before the Bira moved into the forest; undoubtedly changes have been made, but they have not adequately met the new situation.

It is only in light of the relationship between each of these peoples and the environment in which they live that we can understand the relationship between the people themselves. It is in part ignorance of this factor that has led to the gross misunderstanding of Mbuti/Villager relationship, and indeed of Mbuti society itself. Before considering either the Mbuti or their relationship with the villagers, however, a certain amount of further ground-clearing is necessary.

MBUTI, BAMBUTI, BAMBUTI

A certain amount of confusion concerning the Mbuti arises out of conflicting terminology, some of it totally inapplicable or lacking in significance. First we have to be clear why we group together, under any one name, all the pygmy hunters of the Ituri Forest, even though they speak different languages and use different hunting techniques.

Racially, they are clearly one people, quite distinct from any of the surrounding Negro tribes. They form a strongly, visibly distinct unit. Culturally, they are equally distinguished from their neighbors as a unit, being hunters and gatherers, and not cultivators, with a consequently totally distinct social structure. Differences in hunting techniques do not affect the basic structural unity.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

niques do not affect the basic structural unity. The fact that the Mbuti fall into different linguistic groups is no more than accidental, and is of recent historic origin. The linguistic division is that propounded by Schebesta (1938, pp. 24–26). In effect he uses the terms Aka, Efe and Sua to refer to those pygmies who were in territories invaded and settled by the Ngbetu/Zande, the Lesé, and the Forest Bira respectively; these pygmies apparently adopted the languages of the newcomers to their respective areas and they have maintained some kind of relationship with their Negro neighbors ever since.

The question of language is by no means settled yet, and it may be that either KiLesé or KiBira may in fact prove to be a language of pygmy origin adopted by the Negro invaders. At the moment there is no significant evidence available to this effect, and given a situation where small isolated hunting bands (of an absolute maximum of thirty nuclear families and a possible minimum of three) are brought sharply into contact with larger, more permanent, technologically more advanced peoples with a tribal system, we can only assume the likelihood that the pygmies adopted the languages of the newcomers, losing most of their own.

In this case the linguistic division suggested by Schebesta most certainly only refers to a post-contact situation and does not necessarily point to any indigenous difference between these three groups of Ituri hunters and gatherers. The fact that, very approximately, the linguistic boundaries also correspond to the boundaries between pygmy hunters who emphasize the spear, the bow and arrow, and the net may be no more than a mark of acculturation with the three distinct Negro groups; on the other hand it may point to some earlier distinction, but in any case is of much more significance in any contemporary study of social structure.

In dismissing the linguistic differences as any indication of internal differentiation it is worth pointing out that any pygmy from any area in the Ituri can recognize though not comprehend any other pygmy speaking a totally different language because, throughout, the intonation is remarkably similar, absolutely distinctive, and different by far from the intonation used by the Negroes whose language is being spoken. This is one small pointer toward an earlier linguistic unity among all Ituri pygmies, as is the fact that they all seem to recognize themselves by the term Mbuti. One hears this term far more frequently than any other when pygmies are distinguishing themselves from villagers, in all parts of the forest. Even in distinguishing them-

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

197 selves from neighboring pygmies, place names are more likely to be
101 used than the terms Aka, Efe or Sua. Although I have formerly used both BaMbuti and Bambuti, I here use the form Mbuti, as this eliminates difficulty in accurately representing singular and plural forms, and is in keeping with the current practice of the International African Institute.

101 In previous writings and occasionally in this work, the term "Ne-
144 gro" is used to differentiate the pygmy hunters from the immigrant farmers, but it now seems far better to use the term "villager," for the significant difference, as seen by the people concerned as well as seen by the anthropologist, is one between a forest people and a village people; the racial factor is structurally negligible. Precise tribal names cannot always be used, as in some villages the tribal composition is mixed, and as any one band of Mbuti may have contact with two or even three different village tribal groups.

121 I have made other modifications to my earlier terminology, neces-
128 sary simply because of increased understanding. I now use the term "band" where previously I used the term "group" to refer to a unit of Mbuti hunters, who, regardless of their kin relationships, recognize and share a common hunting territory. As will be seen, the term refers more to territorial boundaries than to the boundaries of kinship. The term "group" I now employ to refer generally to one villager group as opposed to another; i.e., Sudanic and Bantu, say, or to distinguish between all net-hunters and all archers. But wherever used, it is used only in its general sense, the context making its meaning plain. It does not have any specific academic significance, not being a translation, for instance, of Schebesta's (1948, p. 291) "Lokalgruppe."

By "family" is meant a nuclear family of a man, his wife and their sociologically recognized children, who are cared for and brought up in all respects in the same way whether or not they are biological offspring. The terms "clan" and "lineage" do not enter much into our analysis of actual Mbuti kinship, but are used as theoretical concepts by comparison with which we can more satisfactorily understand the Mbuti system. A discussion of their meaning is, then, an integral part of the test.

In the course of discussion of the magico-religious system, certain usages specific to the situation will be defined; here I would just mention my own understanding of the terms "ceremony" and "festival." "Ceremony" has, when I use it, the connotation of formal ritual, of an established pattern of behavior that must be followed according

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

value (though an individual generally knows and therefore feels at home in one territory more than in others) so much as a group value. The stated concern of the Mbuti is not to perpetuate lineage but to perpetuate the band, and bands are not only defined but named by territory. Individual camps are given specific names according to their locality. *Apa toangbe* is the camp under the *toangbe* trees; *apa* Lelo is the camp by the Lelo River, and so forth. It is significant that when referring to another band it is generally referred to by its current camp name, or the last camp name known, rather than by the more general name by which its whole hunting territory is known. This implies a recognition of the changeability of the composition of the band, and an emphasis on what the band is at any given moment, defined by the particular part of its territory it is hunting at the moment.

Practical considerations of territory are that birth in a territory conveys the right to hunt with that band throughout life, and it generally conveys a sentimental attachment to the territory that may well act as a stabilizing factor. Cognatic or affinal relationships may be utilized to acquire the right to hunt in other territories, but one then becomes a member, if temporary, of the band in which one is hunting.[4] But it is when one widens the concept of territory, so that it implies more than a mere area defined by boundaries, that the notion acquires its most fundamental importance. As a definable area it is of economic and political significance in providing the framework within which hunting by different bands can take place without danger of shortage or need for conflict; it is also of social significance in providing a symbol of band unity, and the promise of continuity. But the term used by the Mbuti for territory is the same word used for forest, *ndura*. Regarded in this light, territory assumes vastly added significance.

When an Mbuti says "This is our forest" ("*Nde ndura ndasu*"), he may be defining the territory of the band in which he is a current member, or he may be defining the Mbuti as against the villagers. Alternatively, if in the honey season among the net-hunters, he may be defining the territory in which his particular subsection of the band

[4] This again is an example of different degrees of kin relationship being recognized but not made explicit, because explicit recognition would alter the distance between the individuals and so disturb the *apua'i* relationship. Once in the new camp, the visitor is assimilated into the age-level system of that band regardless of the nature of his kin relationships. In giving his reasons for making the visit, either to his own band or to the band he is visiting, an Mbuti will not spell out the relationship but will most likely use the personal name, coupled perhaps with the appropriate generational term. The term alone would plainly not indicate clearly enough whom he was going to visit.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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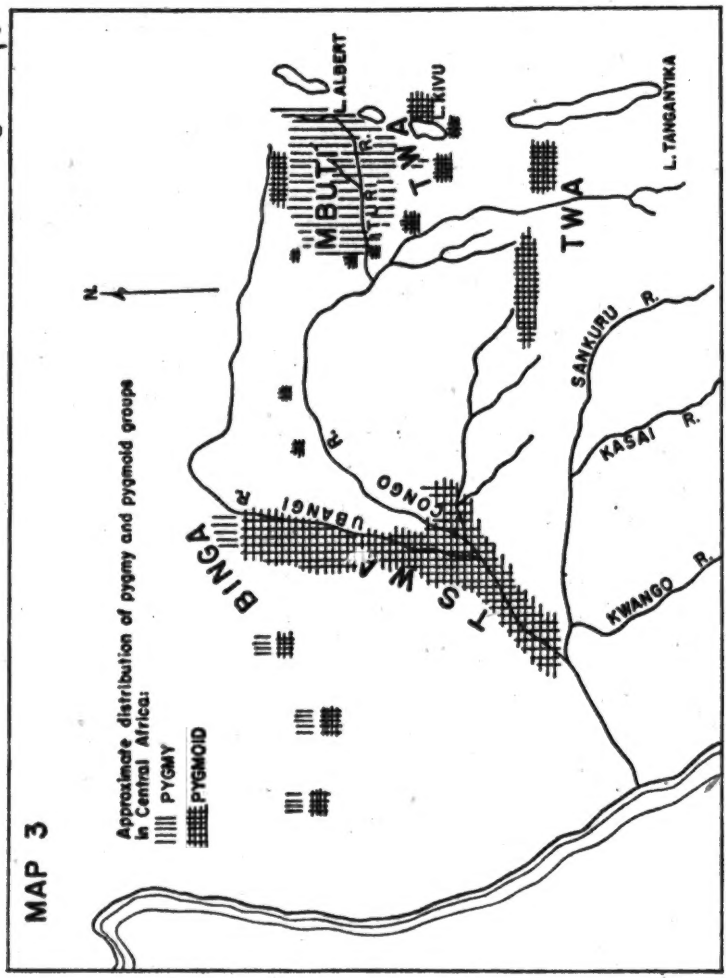
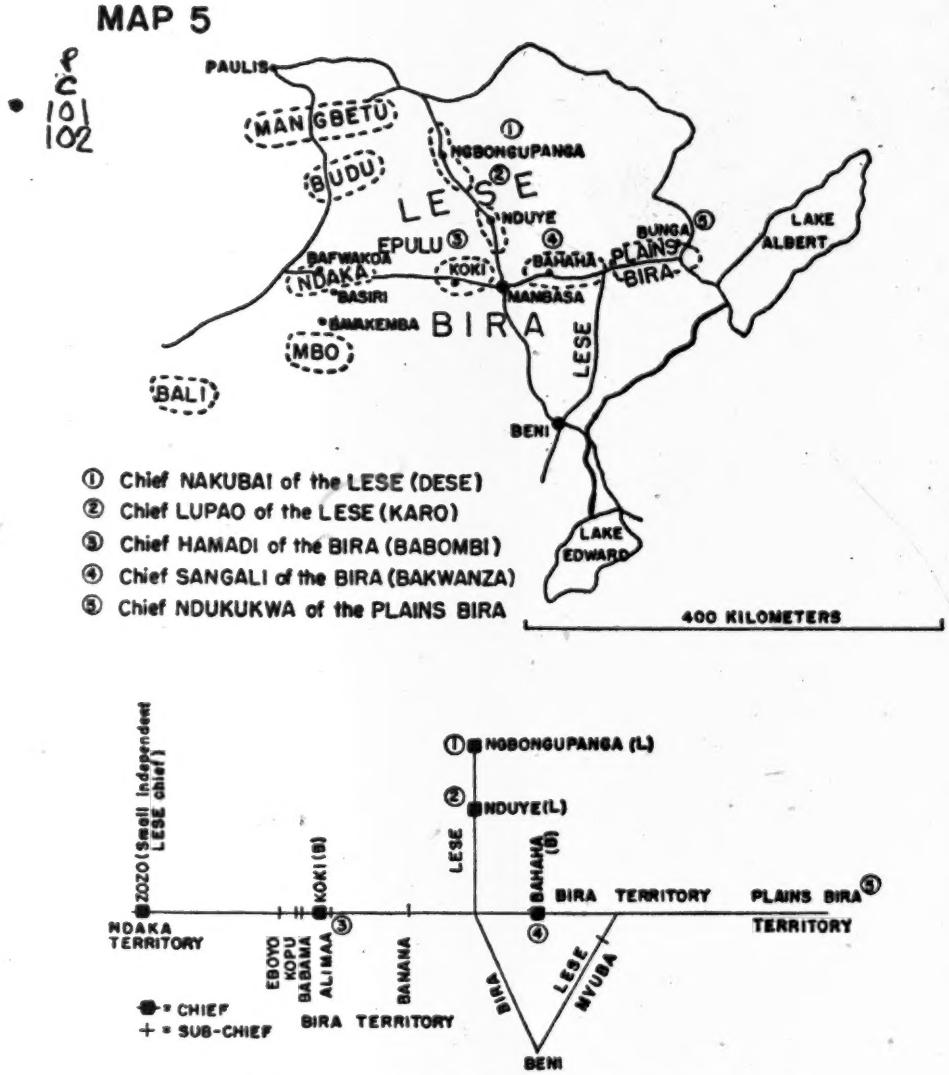


2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 ●
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa Fol



Village tribes and location of tribal Chiefs in the Ituri.

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

hunting but also working on plantations, cutting wood and drawing water. None of this was true of the Pygmies that I knew. But I did agree with Schebesta about the *molimo* (a religious festival). Although he had not seen it himself, from what he heard about it and about similar practices among other groups of Pygmies, he felt sure that it was essentially different from the practices of neighboring Negroes, however similar they might appear to be on the surface. This certainly tallied with my own experience.

The general picture that emerged from his studies was that there were, living in the Ituri Forest, some 35,000 BaMbuti Pygmies, divided into three linguistic groups, speaking dialects of three major Negro languages. The Pygmies seemed to have lost their own language, due to the process of acculturation though traces remained, especially in tonal pattern. Only in the easternmost group did Schebesta feel that the language had survived to any recognizable extent. These were the Efe Pygmies who lived among the BaLese, an eastern Sudanic tribe with a not very savory reputation for cannibalism, witchcraft and sorcery.

But in spite of this linguistic difference, and the fact that the Efe also differed in that they did not hunt with nets but with bow and arrow and spear, Schebesta believed that all the BaMbuti were a single cultural unit. They tended to live in small groups of from three families upward, moving around the forest from camp to camp, though always attached to some Negro village with which they traded meat for plantation products. There was no form of chieftainship, and no mechanism for maintaining law and order, and it was difficult—from Schebesta's account—to see what prevented these isolated groups from falling into complete chaos. The most powerful unifying factor, it appeared, was the domination of the Pygmies by the Negroes. Schebesta cited the *nkumbi* initiation as an example of the way Negroes forced the BaMbuti to accept their authority and that of their tribal lore. Remembering what I had seen, living in an

this area. It was named Eboyo, and the villagers belonged to the BaBira tribe, predominant in the southern and central Ituri. Here there were two chiefs—the traditional chief, Sabani, and the government-appointed chief, Kapamba. Kapamba's job was to see that the right crops were planted, harvested, and marketed to the Belgian government, and that the taxes were collected and paid over. The Belgian policy was largely to let the people in this rather difficult and unprofitable part of the Congo live as they had always lived. The only stipulations were that they should live peacefully, and that in addition to their own small plantations they should cultivate more ground for crops which would both help to feed immigrant labor forces, such as the road gangs and the workers at Station de Chasse, and be of commercial value to the Belgians in the world market for such products as cotton, palm oil and groundnuts.

Kapamba was not a popular figure. He was small and pathetically ugly. His hut was at the very far end of the village, behind a large hillock on the top of which stood his baraza. Only his close relatives and a few Pygmies lived near him.

In the village proper, Sabani's house was in the center. Sabani was a sly old man whose father had married a Lese girl, from the eastern edge of the forest. Sabani changed his tribal affiliation to suit the convenience of the moment, and the Belgians found it impossible to deal with him, so they appointed Kapamba in his place. But Sabani was still the real power in the village, and the real authority. He was also the chief ritual authority for miles around, and he was a frightening sight when painted and dressed for his role of witch doctor at the time of the nkumbi initiation ceremony. Even on other occasions when he wished to be formal—such as the visit of a Belgian administrator—he was no less inspiring. Ragged trousers came down to within a few inches of feet that were barely covered by ill-fitting shoes, slit where they pinched so as to be more comfortable. An old khaki tunic covered his bare chest, and on his head he wore

4: Putnam E-5 (no date) 1948 PO4 Pygmies PO4
Mbuti
Zaire PO1

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224 Although between themselves the pyg-
433 mies have little division of labor, in another sense they are all specialists in hunting, and the division of labor is between them and the Negroes. In this sense the pygmies form an ethnic caste, a genetically and occupationally segregated segment of a larger economic entity.

P
Z This does not mean that the Negro
224 does no hunting. However, the pygmy
433 spends all of his time hunting, the
[481] Negro only a portion of his. The pygmy depends largely on his ability to move noiselessly and swiftly about the forest, and to climb trees. The Negro depends on his greater patience and mechanical ingenuity, for he hunts largely by means of elaborate traps, deadfalls, pits, weighted spears dangled over elephant paths, and other deadly devices. The pygmy could never be induced to dig a pit; it is too much work, takes too long, and takes too much concentration and persistence. Nor do they ever use traps.

P
224 Throughout the pygmy country, the
[101] pygmies can be classified either as net hunters or non-net hunters, depending on whether they habitually practice big community hunts, driving animals into nets, or depend entirely on individual stalking as a means of securing game. They may also be classified by whether or not they use bows and arrows. In both net hunting and the use of the bow and arrow, the pygmies follow the lead of the Negroes among whom they live. Where the Negroes have nets, the pygmies have nets; where the Negroes have bows, the pygmies have bows. This is easily understood, since the Negroes make both the nets and the arrowheads. Presumably, the bowless pygmies are net hunters, for otherwise they could not live.

P
[621] Whether the pygmies in a group are net hunters or bowmen or both makes a considerable difference in the rest of

[P. 328-A]